

Shah Waliullah's Legacy and Impact on Frontier Socio-Religious Mobilization



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Abstract: *Eighteen century is commonly known as the century of revolutionary movements on the scientific and political grounds. Before the death of Aurangzeb, there was one center in south asian Muslim empire from Qandahar to Assam, the succeeding years had no example of such a great Empire. The contributions of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi (1564-1624) and Shah Waliullah (1702-1762) were remarkable to understand and interpret Islam in true spirit. The on-going popular religion in Indian culture was actively criticized which was the result of the expected powers of the saints, worship of their tombs and sacrifice of animals to any other than God. The Ulama who were in the circle of these prominent Sufis have considerable influence and played a key role in shaping the social and religio-political life of Pakhtun s. They not only struggled to save Pakhtun territories from the Sikhs but also attempted for reformation of the prevailing adopted practices of the local ulama. The present study aims at clarifying whether or not the Pakhtun 's resistance trend was influenced by Shah Waliullah thoughts. It also sheds light on the Shah Waliullah's relations with the Pakhtun ulama, mashaikh and elites of that time. Socio-religious reforms according to Waliullahi thoughts through mujahidin movement and their impact on Pakhtun culture. The study is based on locals' narrative, official records of Sikh army, India Office Library Record; and personal collections of Ulama and Mashaikh. The paper will help in tracing the historical roots of the process of socio-religious mobilization, reformation and militant resistance against Sikhs and British in frontier.*

Keywords: *Islam, Ulama, Reformation, Pakhtun, Jihad, Sikhs*

Introduction

Ulama had a leading role in the Muslim society since the inception of Muslim rule 1206 in the Indo-Pak sub-continent. The influence of the Ulama strengthened when the Turks, Persians, and non-Arabs founded their kingdoms in India. The class of Ulama was considered the custodian of the religious knowledge who interpreted the Quran and Hadith. Professional Ulama were categorized into different classes, highly educated as Qazis and Muftis while the

less educated got the posts of *Khateeb* and Imam. Every class has its own duties and powers to interpret religion and settled Muslim personal

matters¹ for that reason they had an authority over the common people.²

Ulama of Indo-Pak subcontinent had played a role in the rise and fall of different governing dynasties from the Muslim political and military superiority to the end of 1857. Their contribution in the past³ and different Sufi thoughts in Indian religious culture, specifically the concepts of *wahdat ul wajud* (the concept of unity of being) and its similarity with Upanishads⁴ disturbed the Muslim tradition and later on manifested by two representatives Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh.⁵ The former positively rejected the doctrine of *wahdat ul wajud* and the later developed the tenets of Islam in a realistic approach and removed rashness.⁶ Shah Waliullah modified, explained and reviewed the doctrine of Sufism in India.⁷ Shah Waliullah was recognized as a bridge between medieval and modern Islamic socio-political thoughts in India and his work gained momentum in the subsequent years.⁸ Shah Sahib fully devoted to the Sunni doctrine of a *Khilafat* filled by election, emphasized on Jihad against the infidels. For this purpose, he wrote a number of books on various topics related to the problems of the Muslims of that time.⁹

CONDITION OF INDIA DURING SHAH WALIULLAH'S TIME

Aurangzeb left a great empire from Qandahar to

Assam; the succeeding years had no example of such a great Empire.¹⁰ After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, a chaos started that lasted for fifty years, i.e. from 1707 to 1757. During this period, ten rulers were changed, four died naturally and six were killed. Contrary to that, the contemporary modern era brought new challenges while the Indian Muslim traditional society was full of confusion. Mughal dynasty was near to collapse. Marathas and British were using all the strength, political power and intellectual potential to dominate all other cultures in India. Marathas were rising day by day due to the numerical strength and the British due to modern education and technology. On the other hand, Muslim power started to decline primarily due to the internal differences and conflicts among the Muslim sects.

Shah Waliullah assessed the socio-political condition of Indian Muslims and offered solutions. The stagnation among the Ulama had developed the sectarian differences in the Muslims community. At that time, a broader and rationalist approach needed to abolish the confusion and conflicts of various groups like Sunnis and Shias, Sufis and Mullahs etc. The alleged hostility among the main sects of Muslims and the prevailing conception that Shias were non-Muslims was removed.¹¹ Shah Sahib put forward a balanced and reconciliatory view and played a role of transitional figure

¹ H. B Khan, *Barr-i-Saghir Pak-o-Hind Ki Jangi Azadi Mai Ulama-i-Hind Ka Siyasi Kirdar, Besween Sadi Say 1940 Tak* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam, University, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 6.

² Mubarak Ali, *The Ulema Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005), 13-14.

³ The clash between them generated sectarian conflicts, which resulted political disintegration in the last years of Shah Jahan's reign. (Ikram, 491)

⁴ Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 28.

⁵ Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, eds. *A History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 1. 1707-1831 'Shah Waliullah Life and Achievements in the Religious Sphere'* (Karachi: Board of Editors, 1957), 491.

⁶ Ikram, *Roodi kosar*, 344.

⁷ Ikram, 491.

⁸ Saeeda Iqbal, *Islamic Rationalism in the Sub-Continent* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1984), 59.

⁹ He translated the Holy Quran from Arabic to Persian language, the Books of *Hadiths (Kutub-i-sitta)*. Hadiths is the second main source of Islamic knowledge. Most of the Hadiths books in the present day '*Dars-i-Nizamiyya*' in Indo-pak taught and interpret with the lineage and methods of Shah Waliullah. (Mawlana Zakariya called him *Masnad-ul-Hind*. For further details see Mawlana Muhammad Zakariya, *Aap beeti* (Autobiography), Vol. 1 (Lahore: Al-Meezan, Urdu Bazar, 2007), 610.

¹⁰ Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 4. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 416.

¹¹ Ikram, 11.

between the medieval and modern age somewhat Dante did in Europe.¹² His efforts and various remedies for the problems implemented a liberal attitude and brought differences to a level where they ceased to be peril to the communal life of Muslims in India.¹³ However, the movement was not sufficiently proved beneficial for the Muslims of Asia due to lack of propagation on the large-scale work of the press and publication as the modern European philosophers were provided with that facility, like Marx, Hume and Hegel. They transmitted their views and published their opinions, which influenced many people and minds of Europe and Asia.¹⁴

SHAH WALIULLAH RESPONSE TO THE PREVAILING SITUATION

Shah Waliullah felt a need for re-assessment of the Islamic theology.¹⁵ The true understanding was possible only after the study of Quran and Hadiths (The tradition of the prophet) and that was possible by either making everybody a scholar of Arabic or making a Persian¹⁶ translation of the Quran. He translated the Holy Quran into Persian in order to make it easy to be understood by the common people. Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi said, “Shah Waliullah’s movement started with the translation of the Holy Quran in 1737-38.”¹⁷ Shah Waliullah pointed out the root cause of the problem and gave instructions to the rulers, elite class, Ulama and common people¹⁸ and according to Manazar

Ahsan Gilani, “For the first time Shah Sahib introduced new interpretation for secular state in India.”¹⁹

Muhammad Afzal remarked,

Shah Waliullah gave serious thought to the political and educational condition of the Muslims. To him the political decline was only the educational decline that could be stopped only through the teaching and preaching of the Islamic pattern of education. So Shah Waliullah tried to upgrade the standard of Muslim education. Sha Waliullah was of the opinion that in Islam the movement of renewal and reformed were linked with the teaching of hadiths. He tried his best to introduced knowledge if Hadiths in India.²⁰

SHAH WALIULLAH RELATIONS WITH THE PAKHTUNS

Shah Waliullah produced a wide range of pious disciples who spread and propagated his teachings in different parts of India.²¹ When he thwarted from the Muslim elite and ruling class, he gave the famous inspiration of (*Fakku kulla nizam*) to overthrow all the existing system of government and to reconstruct another one.²² Shah Waliullah observed dissimilarities and misunderstandings among the Indian Muslims during his lifetime. The Sikhs, Marathas, Jats and Rohillas were main characters who were

¹² Abbot Freeland, ‘The Decline of the Mughal Empire and Shah Waliullah’ *the Muslim World*, Vol. 52. No. 1 (1962), 117. cited in Muhammad Afzal, *Shah Waliullah Philosophy of Education* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2003), 1.

¹³ Ikram, 11.

¹⁴ Miyan, *Tahreek-i-Raishmi Romaal* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Mahmudiya, 2008), 101. Also cited by Mawdodi, *Tajdeed-o-Ahya-i-Deen*, (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1982), 125.

¹⁵ Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual Study of Islam in India* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969), 9.

¹⁶ Persian language was locally understanding by all communities because it was an official language of India since the Muslim Sateen period.

¹⁷ Ubaidullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah ovr Unki Siyasi Tehreek* (Lahore: Sindh Saghar Academy 2008), 8.

¹⁸ Shah Waliullah, *Tafheemat*, cited in Nizami, *Siyasi Maktubat*, 33-34.

¹⁹ Letter of Mawlana Manazer Ahsan Gilani to Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami dated 5th February 1951. Nizami, 8.

²⁰ Muhammad Afzal, *Shah Waliullah Philosophy of Education* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2003), 32.

²¹ Mawdodi, 114. Also, Muhammad Afzal, 32.

²² Muhammad Ikram Chaghtai, *Shah Waliullah; His Religious and Political Thoughts* (Lahore: Sangi-i-Meel Publications Pakistan, 2005), 320.

dreaming about the thrown of Delhi.²³

Shah Waliullah made relations with the Pakhtun spiritual leaders and elites. He also strengthened relations with Sufis and ulama of frontier and Afghanistan like Miyan Umar of Chamkani (Peshawar), Najeeb ul Dawla of Rohil Kand,²⁴ Mulla Amanullah and Mulla Sher Muhammad.²⁵ Shah Waliullah invited Ahmad Shah Abdali the ruler of Afghanistan to attack India to save Muslims and punish the Marathas.²⁶ Ahmad Shah Abdali attacked India and defeated Marathas. However, the mission of Shah Waliullah remained unsettled and the disintegration of Indian Territory was accelerated because the miserable fall of Indian Muslims was far from the normal level and the Indian Muslims did not benefit from the *Pani Pat* defeat of the Marathas.

The interesting side of these events was that on one hand, Ahmad Shah Abdali was eliminating Marathas' power while on the other hand British were busy against Siraj-ud-Dawla Army in Bengal. British benefited from both sides and

Muslims lost power and prestige, and in 1805 the Mughal kings of India, the grandsons of Aurangzeb turned to be a mere pensioners²⁷ of East India Company. At last all the executive powers went into the hands of East India Company and the famous proverb became common everywhere in India, that which means the writ of Shah Alam does not run beyond Pa Alam,²⁸ and the essence of authority disappeared in the Mughal administration.²⁹

Shah Waliullah's teachings and philosophy made a trained circle of Ulama. His struggle for the change of Muslim culture influenced all the coming generations and gave adequate amount of intellect for reasoning in the coming ages. His four sons Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1823), Shah Rafi Uddin (1749-18-18), Shah Abdul Qadir (1753-1814) and Shah Abdul Ghani along with others Ulama like Mawlana Muhammad Ishaq Phulty, Mawlana Noorullah Badhanwi,³⁰ Mawlana Shah Abu Saied Rai Barely,³¹ Mawlana Muhammad Ashiq,³² and Mawlana Muhammad Amin Kashmiri were all notable Ulama of that time who contributed to the

²³ Hakim Mahmood Ahmad Zafar, *Ulama Maidan-i-Siyasat Mey* (Lahore: Bait ul Uloom Anar Kali: n.d), 162.

²⁴ He was born in 1707 at Manery, a small village of Sawabi (K.P.) He went to Doaba (India) and served in the force of Ali Muhammad Khan at Anola in 1743. He helped Ahmad Shah against Safdar Jang and was given the title of Najeeb ud Dawla in 1753. He was in the prominent circle of Shah Waliullah. When Shah Sahib called Ahmad Shah Abdali to attack India Najeeb ud Dawla was also accompanied him and help him in the front line force. (Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami, *Shah Waliullah Ky Siyasi Maktobaat* (Lahore: Idara Islamiyat, 1978), 231-234.

²⁵ He was a notable disciple of shah sahib in frontier and belonged to the tribe of Gigyani of Doaba Peshawar. He was the author of a book named "*Alfajju-ul-Ameeq*". (Muhammad Hanif, *Hayat o Asar Hazrat Miyan Muhammad Umar Chamkani* (Peshawar: Islamiya College University of Peshawar, 1987), 477.

²⁶ He was also called by the nobility of Punjab, Ulama, *Mshaiekh* and the *Rajas* of Northern India. Altaf Qadir, *Sayed Ahmad Barely His Movement and Legacy from Pakhtun Perspective*. (Delhi: Sage Publication, 2015.), 5.

(Nizami, 224)

²⁷ Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslims Community of the Sub-continent 610-1947* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1999), 218.

²⁸ Pa Alam was a small town near Delhi and now an Airport has been built there.

²⁹ Muhammad Raza Khan, *Tareekhi Musalmanan-i-Alam* (Lahore: Ilmi Kutub Khana, 1995), 744.

³⁰ He was the disciple of Shah Waliullah and the teacher of Shah Abdul Aziz as well as father in law. His grandson Mawlana Abdul Hai prominently took part in Mujahedin movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barely and came to Frontier after few months of Sayyid Ahmad's arrival. However, after eight months stay in Frontier he died due to illness.

³¹ He was the grandson of famous scholar Shah Almuallah and grandfather of Sayyid Ahmad Barely. (Miyani, *Ulama-i-Hind Ka Shandar Mazi*, 418).

³² He was the cousin of Shah Sahib and was a renowned companion of him. Shah Sahib admired him and said that many books were written on his demand. Shah Sahib himself said that most of his work will be spread due to the efforts of Mawlana Muhammad Ashiq (Miyani, *Ulama-i-Hind Ka Shandar Mazi*, 417).

mission of Shah Waliullah in the subsequent years.

According to Mawlana Sindhi, Shah Abdul Aziz was the first Imam of the Waliullahi movement and he laid down the foundation of Waliullahi movement on the principles of Shah Waliullah.³³ Mujahedin movement of Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi started under the inspiration of Shah Abdul Aziz.³⁴ Shah Waliullah's influence upon Pakhtuns was closely felt through Shah Abdul Aziz.³⁵ Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi was accompanied by Shah Ismail (d.1831) and Mawlana Abdul Hai (d.1828); both were the family members of Shah Waliullah. The former was the grandson of Shah Waliullah and the later was nephew and son in law of Shah Abdul Aziz.³⁶ In the Mujahedin movement of Sayyid Ahmad, the cultural differences were neglected and that might be one of the reasons of failure of this movement.³⁷

RESISTANCE OF SHAH WALIULLAH'S FOLLOWERS AGAINST THE BRITISH

The start of nineteenth century brought a new

challenge for the Muslims of India when British³⁸ entered into Delhi as conquerors under the command of General Lord Lake. The famous Treaty of Delhi was signed in 1803 that "The people belong to God, country to king and the administration to the Company Bahadur."³⁹ The second challenge was the system of education, the existing indigenous system of education was replaced by the modern education for the strength and survival of British rule. The Christian missionaries wanted to convert the Indian masses to Christianity.⁴⁰ Hindus and Muslims were likely treated in this matter, however, the Hindus adopted the western education and their religious reformist movements were also going on side by side like Brahma Samaj (1828), Prathna Samaj (1867) and Arya Samaj (1875).⁴¹ The scenario was "divided and disorganized India," the Sikhs occupied southern, Marathas, the Northwestern part and North East was in the hands of Rohillas.⁴² Due to disorder and clash India became a conflict zone. At the lifetime of Shah Abdul Aziz, the situation became extreme and both the religion and state were going down.⁴³

³³ Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah oar Unki Tahrik* (Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy n.d.), 53.

³⁴ Abdul Rauf "The British Empire and the Mujahedin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India: 1914-1934", *Islamic Studies* No. 44: 3 (2005), 409.

³⁵ Mawlana Sindhi remarked that Shah Abd ul Aziz saw Hazrat Ali in his dream and he ordered him to learn Pashto language, the knowledge of language would be a sign to understand the Pakhtun culture, which was very important for the Pakhtun loyalties for success. Sindhi, 53.

³⁶ There were other family members of the shah Sahib family like Mawlana Muhammad Yusuf Phulty the grandson of Shah Ahlullah the elder brother of the shah Waliullah was also accompanied and he did a lot important task for the mujahidin .He was finance chief and manager of the food in mujahidin lashkar. He died at the time when sayyid Ahamd was on a tour towards Sawat. (Sadiq Hussain, *Sayyid Ahamd Shaheed Awr Unki Mujahidin Movement*, (Lahore: Almeezan Urdu Bazar 2010), 99.

³⁷ Altaf Qadir, 152.

³⁸ In the reign of Nur ud-din Muhammad Jahangir (1605-27 A. D), British came to India as traders and established East Indian Company. As time passed,

they consolidated themselves in trade and politics. In 1611, the company started its operation after a treaty with the Mughal emperor on southeastern coast of India. India was sacked from both North and South; Robert Clive defeated Nawab Siraj ud-dawla in 1757, while Ahmad Shah Abdali ruined Mughal capital in 1756. Siraj ud-dawla and Tipo Sultan tried to save the Muslim political failure in Bengal but failed.

³⁹ Miyan, 435.

⁴⁰ When the student of Delhi College Ram Chandar converted to Christianity, Hindus felt very guilty and a great enthusiastic chaos was blown in the Hindu community. (Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asbaab Baghawat-i-Hind* (Karachi: Urdu Academy Sind, 1957), 18.

⁴¹ Sayed Masroor Ali Akhtar Hashmi, *Muslims Response to Western Education*, New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 1989), 37.

⁴² They were the Pathan migrated from Frontier and established their territory under Najeeb ud-Dawla who helped Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Marathas war in 1760. (Nadvi, 424).

⁴³ He stated, "The primary design of the government scheme of education is to advance the progress of civilization in India by the diffusion of useful knowledge, as the phrase is generally understood.

The British attitude towards Muslim religion and state was evident from Sir Charles Trevelyan's stance before the Select committee of the House of Lords in 1853⁴⁴ and Mr. Mingles, President of the Directors of East India Company in the British parliament in 1857.⁴⁵ The Muslims judicial system of Sharia Law was replaced by common law, the Land Tax collection system was changed, and opportunities of employment for Muslims were decreased due to the fear of Christianization, as the modern education was designed for that purpose.⁴⁶ Due to the political changes and the most awful situation,⁴⁷ Shah Abdul Aziz was asked about the Indian Territory, whether Dar ul Islam (the Land of peace) has become Dar ul Harb? (Land of war).⁴⁸ He gave the verdict (Fatwa) in 1805-6 declaring India as Dar-ul-Harb (the Land of war) and which means a country of enemy from where the Muslims should either do Jihad or Hijrah.⁴⁹ The Fatwa was as:

In this city (Delhi) the Imam-ul-Muslimin wields no authority. The real power rests with the Christian officers. There is no check on them; and the promulgation of the commands of *Kuffar* means that in administration and justice, in matter of law and orders, in the domain of trades, finance and collection of revenue-

The design of the missionary institutions is to convert the Natives to Christianity. The two objects are distinct, but they are by no means opposed to one another". (Sayyid Mehmod, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh: M. A. O. College, 1895), 67.

⁴⁴ Hashmi, 26.

⁴⁵ Mr. Mingles said, "God has gifted the vast land of India to England. We ought to stand by the flag of Christianity in India from one corner to another. So this is the duty of every individual to do their best job for making the whole India as Christian country without any negligence". Miyan, *Ulama-i-Haq Owr Unky Mujahedana Karnamy*, 51.

⁴⁶ Hashmi, 37.

⁴⁷ The editor of Delhi Gazetteer Dr. Smith Prabha Chopra remarked the situation in these words "The well order Mughal administration had disappeared and its remnants could only be found in the hereditary ruling of Mughal families in villages. The city had been divided in to war wards by the neighboring villages for the purpose

everywhere the *Kuffaar* (infidels) are in power. Yes, there are certain Islamic rituals, e.g. Friday and *Eid* prayers, *Aazan* (call for pray) and cow slaughtering with which they brook no interference; but the very root of these rituals is of no value to them. They demolish mosques without the least hesitation and no Muslims or any dhimmi can enter into the city or suburbs but with their permission. It is in their own interest if they do not object to the travelers and traders to visit the city. On the other hand, distinguished persons like Shuja-ul-Mulk and Wilayati Bagam cannot dare visit the city without the permission. From here to Calcutta, the Christians are in complete control. There is no doubt that in principalities like Hyderabad, Rampur, Lucknow etc. they have left the administration in the hands of local authorities, but it is because they have accepted their lordship and have submitted to their authority.⁵⁰

Shah Abdul Aziz carried on the religio-political philosophy of his father and gave two historic verdicts (*Fatwa*) about the new situation and changes brought by the British. The first was about the Indian territory that he declared India as *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) while the second was, the western education and service were

of plunder and it was not possible to go without an armed escort.....in 1803 Delhi was declared to be no-regulated area; the rule being that the spirit of regulation was to be observed as far as circumstances permitted.... . Though British respected the dignity of Mughal emperor of Delhi, he was in reality a shadow ruler." BL, IOR, Delhi Gazetteer, (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Patalia House, 1976), 77.

⁴⁸ The *fatwa* of *Dar ul Harb* was given approximately between 1806 and 1809. Shah Abdul Aziz responded to the question of Mawlavi Abd ul Rahman in a letter in which India was declared as '*Dar-ul-Harb*'. *Tazkira Kamilani Rampur* cited in Afzal Quraishi, *Mawlana Fazli Haq Khairabadi: Ak Tahqiqi Mutaliya* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Tajiran-i-Kutub, 1992), 14.

⁴⁹ Masher ul Haq, *Shah Abdul Aziz: His Life and Time* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1995), 1.

⁵⁰ Shah Abdul Aziz, *Fatawa-i-Azizi* (Delhi: Matba-i-Mujtabai. 1311 A. h), 17.

allowed as valid for the Indian Muslims⁵¹ though he himself refused an offer of appointment at Calcutta Madrassa.⁵² These two different verdicts had a deep influence on the subsequent years of socio-religious conditions of India, which provoked the Muslims to resist against the Sikhs and British. Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi remarked, as

This fatwa from the religio-political point of view is a landmark in the history of India in general and in that of Muslim of India in particular. It amounted to a call to religiously conscientious Muslims to mobilize themselves, in the absence of any powerful Muslims warlord, under popular leadership and raise defiance of the foreign power.⁵³

FRONTIER AS BASTION OF MUJAHEDIN'S MOVEMENT

Shah Abdul Aziz died in 1823, after giving guidance to the Muslims up to fifty years. He gave moral support to his disciples Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi (1786-1831), nephew Shah Ismael Bareilvi and son-in-law Mawlana Abdul Haye.⁵⁴ They launched Jihad movement in North Western part of India against the Sikhs of Punjab that was commonly branded by the British as Wahabi Movement. Frontier was made the center of jihad as it was thought suitable for the movement. First, the location: it was in the center of Muslims states from where the help of men and materials could reach in time of need. Aziz Javed wrote "Frontier was chosen as a center to receive help from Iran,

Turkey, and Afghanistan."⁵⁵ Second, the culture of this area was in customs of Ghazisim (holy war). So devotedly, the common people sent their sons and brothers to jihad. The community not only supported the movement but also stood with the jihadists against the common enemy.

SAYYID AHMAD'S RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN PAKHTUNS

The army of Owud and Rohilkhand mostly consisted of Pathan soldiers where Sayyid Ahmad took training and got service in the army of Amir Khan of Tonk.⁵⁶ The elder brother of

Sayyid Ahmad was also in the Nawab's Army.⁵⁷ There were an excessive number of Pakhtun soldiers in Rohilkhand led by Amir Khan that was considered a source of victory.⁵⁸ Nawab Amir Khan was a Pakhtun⁵⁹ and his high rank officers were also Pakhtun who migrated from Pakhtun areas. The prominent generals like Nawab Faqir Muhammad Khan Afridi, Abdul Baqi Khan Qandahari and Maindo Khan Resaldar were all Pakhtuns.⁶⁰ Even the inhabitants of Muhallah Jihan Abad, where Sayyid Ahmad was living in Ray Barely, were mostly Pakhtun s and his followers.⁶¹ Another reason was that the people of Frontier had a long history of successful campaigns against the Indians because they were famous for their brave and courageous temper. This feature of physical strength and geographical division of the Pakhtun area gave positive response to all resistance movements. The Pakhtun substantial and valiant position was evident and realized by

⁵¹ It was criticized by some friends of Shah Abd ul Aziz and other Ulama when Shah Sahib gave conditional permission to Mawlana Abdul Haye to serve under the British government in India. At this, Shah Ghulam Ali Mujadadi Dihilvi wrote a detailed letter to Shah Abdul Aziz to protest and appeal for reconsideration. Shah Waliullah ovr unka khandan, 8.

⁵² Ziaul Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1962), 2.

⁵³ Shah Abdul Aziz, *Fatawa-i-Azizi*, 17; Faruqi, 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2000), 12.

⁵⁶ Aziz Javed, *Haji Sahib Turangzai*, (Peshawar: Azim publishing house, 1992), 17.

⁵⁷ Ab ul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Tarikhi Dawat-o-Azeemat*, Vol.6, (Karachi: Idara-i Nashriyat 2000), 133.

⁵⁸ Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahhabi Movement in India* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1966), 26.

⁵⁹ Nadvi, 133.

⁶⁰ He was living in "Sunbhal" district Moradabad belong to *Salarzai* tribe of Pathan from Buner. His grandfather Taly Khan went India in the reign of Muhammad Shah. (Nadvi, 134)

⁶¹ Ibid. 423.

⁶² Ibid. 425.

the Ulama because Mujahedin movement sprung with the help of Pakhtun s, which was the main Islamic jihad movement according to the Shah Waliullahi thoughts. This is a fact that the Indian mutiny/war of independence 1857 was also fast-tracked by the Rohila Pakhtun s. H.W Hunter wrote:

For this purpose, the viceroy of India struggled with utmost to his best to stop the supporters.⁶² On the reaction and resistance of the Pakhtun tribesmen, they feared and registered cases against the successor of the Mujahedin like Patna, Ambala, and other places in India.⁶³

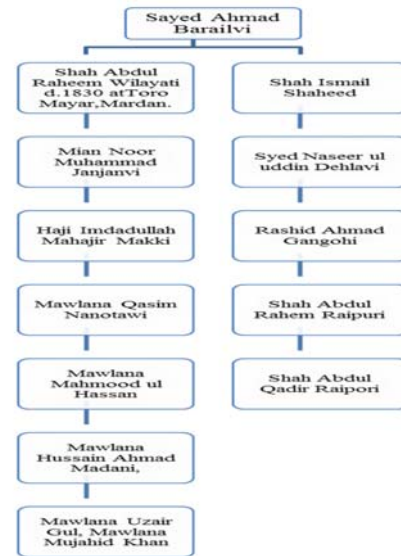
Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi was the practical link of the Waliullahi movement and wanted to reorganize the Muslims social condition on the bases of Islamic polity. Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi used to say, “Shah Waliullah offered the concept of a new Muslim entity in India which was recognized by Shah Abdul Aziz and accustomed it to the lay man in public language.”⁶⁴ While Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi and Shah Ismail Barelvi jointly associated and entered in to a practical field. They not only established a force to combat the infidels but also founded a class of ulama who changed the entire atmosphere of traditionalist clergy into an orthodox Waliullahi school.

Although they did not succeed in the revolutionary way yet the inspiration of their learning proved fruitful in the revolutionary process to change the traditional ways of unauthentic customs. The main purpose of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi’s Jihad movement was to remove the Sikhs from Frontier first, and then British from the rest of India.⁶⁵ Aziz Ahmad remarked, “It was a movement of holy war

against the Sikhs and possibly secondarily against the British.”⁶⁶

After Sayyid Ahmad’s martyrdom, the remaining Mujahedin in Buner came under the protection of Akhund Abdul Ghafur and they began a fresh uprising under his leadership in 1862. Only five years after the great war of 1857, the followers of Shah Waliullah movement and the remaining disciples of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi started holy war against the British in independent tribal areas. Mawlavi Naserudin, Mawlavi Karamat Ali and Mawlavi Wilayat Ali carried on the activities of jihad against the British imperial powers. Later on, they were led by Mawlana Abdul Karim (d.1915), Mawlana Muhammad Bashir (d.1934), Mawlavi Fazal Elahi (d.1951). They involved in the frontier areas in several activities against the British imperial powers for the freedom of the country.⁶⁷

Spiritual Genealogy of the Jihad movement and Ulama-i-Deoband



⁶² In 1864, the British authorities’ disclosed the financial sources of Mujahedin in India and the leaders of ‘Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah’ were arrested who were involved in transferring money and men to the Frontier camp. The trail started in 1864 and ended in 1871 and the whole framework was damaged.

⁶³ Tufail Ahmad Mangalore, *Musalmanun ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, (Lahore: Hamad al kutbi, 1945),143.

⁶⁴ Sindhi, 20.

⁶⁵ It was exposed from a letter written to a prominent person Shahzada Kamran of Frontier during the jihad movement (invitation in the 1825). Nadvi, 423.

⁶⁶ Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history Study of Islam in India* (Edinburgh: University Press), 1969), 9.

⁶⁷ Abd ul Rauf, *Muslim Politics in NWFP 1919-1930 with Special Reference to Pan Islamic Ideas*. Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, Quaid -i-Azam University Islamabad,1991, pp,107-110.

DEOBAND AND ITS IMPACTS ON FRONTIER REGION

Jihad movement had linked the Frontier with India by the well-regarded memorial of those personalities who had a pronounced inspiration in the subsequent socio-religious and political movements of Indians. The interesting one is the Deobandi Ulama who were the disciples of the Haji Imdadullah Makki and his grandfather Pir Shah Abdul Rahim Wilayati Barelvi,⁶⁸ was a great Mujahed. He was a commander of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi and was assassinated in the war of Toru Mayar (Mardan) against the troops of Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan.⁶⁹ It is observed that the Mujahedin movement had influenced the common people and Ulama of the frontier region.⁷⁰ The forerunners of the Deoband madrasah belong to the same school of thought associated to Waliullahi philosophy. Mawlana Madani said, Ulama of Deoband, Saharanpur and Muzaffar Nagar were the disciples of Shah Abdul Aziz, the son of Shah Waliullah.⁷¹ From the early groups who completed their education in Deoband was mostly belonging to Punjab and Afghanistan.⁷² They worked hard for making links between the religious leaders (*Sufi* and *Mashaekh* of the Frontier region) with the ulama-i-Deoband, especially with Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, leader of the political wing of the Deoband tried for liberation of the India

from the imperial rule of British. The two main characters, Haji Sahib Turangzai and Umara Khan of Jandol under the guidance of Ulama-i-Deoband, motivated North West Frontier against the British Colonial Rule.⁷³ Haji Sahib spent some time in Deoband and accompanied with Mawlana Qasim Nanutawi and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi for the pilgrimage. Umara Khan of Jandol was a Yusafzai Pakhtun. He established an Islamic center in the Frontier area. He had a meeting with Haji Imdadullah Makki and Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi in Makkah. In 1877, he took an oath (Bay'at) of Jihad at the hands of Mawlana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi.⁷⁴ They wanted to establish a great bloc for the reawakening of Muslims. Therefore, they choose tribal area⁷⁵ for the resistance and jihad against the imperial powers with the consultation of Ulama-i-Deoband.⁷⁶

CONCLUSION

Shah Waliullah thoughts influenced frontier spiritually and politically. The movement started by Shah Waliullah, transmitted through his sons and their disciples to North West Frontier. The region provided a bastion for Mujahedin movement and it proved as a suitable combating battlefield for the freedom fighters of India. Shah Waliullah thoughts transmitted through Shah Abdul Aziz and other family members who

⁶⁸ Presently he is known as the Sangar Baba in Frontier. He was the pir of Hazrat Muhammad Jhanjanwi, who was the peer of Haji Imdadullah Makki (Nadvi, 266). His ancestors came from Afghanistan. At first he took his bey'at from Sayyid Rahm Ali Shah and then came under the (bey'at) in the Chishtiya Sufi order from Hazrat Shah Abdul Bari Marohi. He at last took bey'at from Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi at Saharanpur.

⁶⁹ He was the Sardar of Peshawar and differences rose between Sayyid Ahmad and the Durrani Sardaran-i-Peshawar.

⁷⁰ Before the foundation of Deoband Frontier ulama were going to Baghdad (Iraq).

⁷¹ Syed Husain Ahmad Madani, *Naqsh-i-Hayat* (Karachi: Darul Isha'at, 1953), 450.

⁷² Miyan, *Aseerani-Malta* (Lahore: Al Jam'iat Publication, 2010), 28.

⁷³ Umara Khan was born in 1830 at Jandol and belonged to the Salarzai tribe, Masti Khel family.

He was against the British and had five thousand armed followers in the Area. He succeeded to control the administration of his Area in 1877 expanding to Sawat, Dir and Chitral.

⁷⁴ Sabir, *Tazkira Sarfroshan-i-Sarhad* (Peshawar: University Book Agency: n.d), 245.

⁷⁵ These *Yaghistani* Mujahedin were helped by the Indian leaders, like Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad, Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan, Mawlana *Shoukat* Ali, Mawlana Abd ul Bari Frangi Mahal, Hakeem Ajamli Khan and Doctor Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. It is interesting that the founder of Tablighee Jamaat, Mawlana Ilyas was also included in the supporters of these Mujahedin. (Qibla Ayaz, *Nu Abadiyati Nizam me yagistani jihad or us pe Waliullahi fikar kay asarat* (Impact of the Shah Waliullah thoughts on the yaghistani jihad in the colonial period) '*Majallah*' Peshawar University. Vol. 1 (April 1994), 41-49.

⁷⁶ Mawlana Ismail Rehan, *Tareekh-i-Afghanistan*, (Lahore: 308.

go together with Sayyid Ahamd during the mujahidin movement. Shah Ismail and Mawlana Abdul Hai struggled to change most of the prevailing condition based on superstitions, practice of admiration of tombs and flashy ceremonials on marriages and deaths in the Pakhtun society. The local ulama later on followed them in the subsequent years.⁷⁷ On the education side, Ulama-i-Deoband in Frontier developed the propagation of religion through the chain of independent madaris. The religious leadership attributed their all qualities for the religious education. They developed a continuous process of resistance to the colonial rule. The religio-political situation was the legacy of Shah Waliullahi movement in the North West Frontier Province.

⁷⁷ Sayyid Amir of kota and Akhund Abdul Ghafore later on developed as two schools whose

disciples even today have different schools as Shamansori and Panjperi.